/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins throughout the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be silver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain, cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale. Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan. They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
● 594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

592 /30 cont'd/
594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son, grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
582 marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584 marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the latter case, the children have no way of raising objections. Generally, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive. From what I have heard, this is completely different from the manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,
595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance, the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a
182 limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it. Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
582 lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

2:Ling & Ruey--128 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but household chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [423] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, [422] tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

/93 cont./
551 adopted their ways. Among the Shih /"rock"/ and Lung /"dragon"/ there are the Ta /"big"/ Shih and Shao /"small"/ Shih, the Ta Lung and Shao Lung. Shao Shih is also written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung, also
582 with the character lung meaning "eminent." Although they
[614] have surnames, they do not have a closely knit organization of family clans, and so formerly they did not object to marriage between people of the same surname. However, no marriage
[177] was permitted between close relatives. In recent years they
[55] have come under Chinese influence, and know that people of the same surnames must not marry. Shao Shih /"small rock"/ was changed to be written with the character shih meaning "time," and Shao Lung /"small dragon"/ was changed to be written with the character lung meaning "eminent," in order to separate them from Ta Shih /"big rock"/ and Ta Lung /"big dragon"/, so that they could intermarry. Today, Miao family
177 life has become more and more like that of the Chinese, and
● 594 marriage and funeral rites largely follow Chinese customs,
764 barely retaining remnants of some Miao customs.

(2) Marriage

836 /94/ Among the Miao the premarital sex life of the young men and women is rather free. When a virgin has intercourse with a man, her parents know about it but do not forbid it. On the contrary, they consider this evidence that the man finds their daughter desirable. Sometimes, the girl brings home her lover, and her parents will kill a chicken to entertain him.
[345] There are even public houses set up specially for the use of young men and women to gather together. For instance, in Chapter II reference was made to the Pa Chai Miao, recorded in Yung-sui T'ing Chih, to the effect that an empty shed was built near the village, where unmarried men and women gathered
[584] together to sing. If a couple fell in love, a cow was sent as a betrothal gift. Again, the unmarried men among the Ch'ing
517 Chiang He Miao were called "lohan"; in the spring they would
533

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

691 sake of the bribes, squeezes, and fees that are
661 to be obtained from the litigants. The average incumbency of a district magistrate in Kweichow is not, we think, over twelve months.

Not only do the Yamen people profit by the cases brought before the magistrate, but very often underlings, and others in league with the Yamen, foment litigation and exhort the simple country-folk to take their grievances, or reopen their cases, before the magistrate. The longer a case lasts, and the more people can be drawn into it, the more profit there is for the Yamen. Very often cases are trumped up and false accusations made, and even if the accused finally obtains a verdict in his favour, it will only be after he has been mercilessly squeezed by these harpies. Probably on account of their ignorance and the lack of men among them with literary degrees, which would give them the privilege of interviewing the magistrate, the Miao are even more squeezed than the Chinese. Yamen secretaries, however, are neither partial nor particular, but always willing and zealous to extort money from everybody they can lay their hands on.

594 Among the Miao nearly all the disputes
586 arise on account of their land or their women. They recognise the marriage relation, but do

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

not observe it as strictly as the Chinese. Miao 594 ●
women have more liberty and are more uncon- 586
ventional than Chinese women, and conse-
quently many of their marriages are the result
of mutual liking. Not infrequently, however,
a girl is practically sold for money to a husband
chosen by the parents, and in these cases the
result is often disastrous. The young woman
will probably run away from her husband's
home and continue to meet her lover. If
pressure is brought to bear upon her from her
parents or parents-in-law, as it generally is,
she may return to her husband's home, make
herself thoroughly disagreeable, and run away
again in a short time. After this has happened 586
repeatedly, the husband in despair tries all he
can to find out who is the lover. When he
finds this out, he sends an invitation to the
lover and to his wife's people to come before
the elders of the district and talk over his
grievance. Sometimes these discussions last
for days. The husband pretends to want his
wife back, but as a matter of fact he has had
quite enough of her, and really desires to have
the money he paid for her returned to him.
The wife's father pretends to be very angry,
says his daughter was not well treated, that
notwithstanding the hard work she had to do